1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

The Sonora churches have no regular Sunday services. The dates celebrated are Christmas, Easter, All Souls' Day, and one or two saints' days. Supposedly the festival celebrated is that of the patron saint, but few Papago are clear on this. In their minds all the chapels are dedicated to San Francisco Xavier, whose photographs crowd the walls. This picture shows the effigy found in so many Jesuit churches, representing the saint, clad in his bishop's robes and lying upon his tomb, as he does in his own mission church at Macao in the South Seas. No step in acculturation could be more drastic than this cult of a dead man, by the Papago, who fear the dead and taboo their names. To the writer, it seems possible that they never grasped the fact that the pictures do represent a sarcophagus.

For a week before a feast day all the related families who "own" the church work hard. The men clear the grounds and repair the adobe building. They straighten the wooden cross which stands opposite the door some forty or fifty yards away. They clean off the dance ground, a flat space of gravel between cross and church. Generally this has over and around it an arrangement of poles and cross pieces like the skeleton of a tent, and these are decorated with paper pennants in various colors. In the feast house, an adobe building next door with a huge outdoor kitchen, the earthen ovens are cleaned, and wood is brought for fires.

The women clean the inside of the church, dusting the photographs, laying clean cloths on the altar, and perhaps making a new saint's bed of silk and lace. On the earthen floor they lay canvas. Then the most skillful ones sit down to make crepe paper flowers to decorate altar and outdoor cross. Others clean the kitchen and the big wooden tables in the feast house, where the whole village will be asked to dine. The group of owner families has been assessed for meat, beans, and canned goods. Toward the end of the week all the women gather at the feast house and spell each other in baking bread.

At twilight on the eve of the feast day dinner is served to all comers. The two head men take turns acting as major domo, the women cook, the young men wait at table, the girls help in the

1: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1946 NU28 Papago NU28

Other ceremonies celebrated with the co-operation of church authorities are St. John's Day, the Day of the Assumption, and All Souls' Day. The writer saw St. John's Day at Santa Rosa. The church was decorated with paper flowers, and on the evening of the day (arrangements could not be made for the evening before, which was the correct time) the women sang the Rosary. Then a hired orchestra of Papago, with violins and guitars, took their places outside the church. The boys and girls danced in couples, a Spanish form of fox trot, until well after sunrise the next morning. Then a "chicken pull" was held. This is the Spanish *corso de gallo,* in which a live cock is buried to its neck in the sand and horsemen, galloping past, lean over and try to pull it out.

The feast of the Assumption was very similar, but without the chicken pull. On that night women put up a canvas shelter outside the church and cooked a huge meal of beans, tortillas, and boiled meat. Inside the church the Rosary was sung and then the young people danced all night. There were some villages in which this dancing continued three days.

All Souls has versions varying from the completely Christian to those with decided Indian flavor. It should be mentioned that all Papago now have Christian burial. Perhaps because their own treatment of death was so unceremonious, they have found room for the funeral practices of the whites more easily than for other religious services. Whereas the corpse was once thrust into a crevice and sealed in with rocks or housed, seated, in a cabin of stone, it is now laid in a coffin and buried, facing the east. Whereas there was only a hasty farewell, with the adjuration not to return, there are now prayers by a clergyman or at least a layman.

But the custom of placing gifts with the dead persists, or did in 1932. Expensive clothes and saddles are often bought, and the grave may be lavishly stocked with goods and food. Some families keep dishes at a grave from year to year, and one dish, seen by the writer was in the ancient ceremonial duck form. On All Souls' night a feast for the dead is set out in many a house, but the family does not share it with the departed in Mexican style. Papago fear of the dead is too strong for that, so the living leave the house and spend the haunted hours in church.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
NU28 Papago NU28

So he talked to them, and then they spoke of whether they would widen the ditches and if the boys were practising well for the races, and maybe a man from some other village was there to tell them the news. There was not a man among us who would miss that meeting. 159X 619 721

We women sat in the dark, under the shelter, and told about the strange things we had heard. We told how there is a root which men carry to make the deer come to them and it makes women come, too. It smells strong and sweet, and you can smell it on the sweaty hands of a man beside you in the dance. If it is very strong and has been used in many love matches, sometimes it turns into a man. It walks up beside a woman while she is sleeping and makes her dream. 159X 517 [332]

We told how, in our village, a girl was struck by lightning. Someone must have been menstruating and not have confessed it, said the medicine man. So he called all the girls, took out his crystals and looked at them. "It was the girl herself," he said. "She has killed herself." 159X 761 821

We told how, when a woman does not seem to care for any man or a man for any woman, that person is really married to a snake. There was a man in our village who used to go out alone into the desert and disappear in a wash. His parents followed him and found there a little red snake with her baby snakes on her back. They said to their son: "What! have you a family of snakes?" He said: "No, she is a beautiful woman." That is how snakes fool you. The older women used to tell us, too, that if we thought too much about any boy before we were married, that boy would seem to come and make love to us. But it would not be he, it would only be a snake. So girls must not think too much about boys. That was what the old women told us. We must not think about boys and we must not talk to boys. When we were married it would be time enough to speak to a man. Now it was better to work and be industrious. 159X 834 864

So I worked. But I used to think while I was sitting under the shelter with my basketry, about whether I would get a good man and whether I would like being married. I used to hear a good deal about married peoples' troubles, because my father was chief in Mesquite Root. Married people who had quarrels brought their troubles to him. There was a post in front of our house where people were beaten who did wrong, and all the village would come to see and talk about what happened. 159X 622 681

Once I remember how a wife came, very angry. She had walked a long way to tell about her husband. "He beats me," she said to my father. "You who are One Made Big Over Us, he beats me! But I love him." My father used to smile at things like that. He was a warrior and a gambler. He did not care about beating women. But he always settled things for them. So 159X 684

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

and singing, as it does in the wine ceremony, not cruelty and fighting. Women say that they sometimes talk to their husbands but that "they don't pay any attention." Others simply leave home until their husbands sober up. Religious sanctions lessen drunkenness among the Presbyterians, but the group is small. 733

The Papago lay part of the blame on the federal law which forbids the sale of liquor to Indians; they say that forbidding the possession of something is a challenge. Whether or not this contention is justified, the real difficulty with drunkenness has coincided with the period of accelerated acculturation and particularly with the transfer from a barter to a cash economy. Illicit liquor is easily acquired when one has money, and with the prevalence of wage work almost every Papago man has cash. Possibly the speed of acculturation has brought with it conflicts and maladjustment for which compensation is sought in drinking. The disappearance of the old village games and races, which used up much surplus energy and sometimes required arduous training, may also have brought about recourse to other forms of stimulation and excitement. The problem remains difficult and pressing, for no adequate solution has been found. 733 177

CURING SICKNESS AND COUNTERACTING MISFORTUNE

In an environment which requires constant and hard labor, sickness might well be one of the most dreaded misfortunes. This attitude has probably been reinforced by the grave health problems of the Papago (see chap. vii). 753

The Desert People believe that sickness and other misfortunes come from offending one of the many supernatural forces which menace humans. From early childhood they are taught what to-do and what not to do in order to maintain the right relationships with these forces.

Certain rites must be performed for every individual: if a baby is not taken to a medicine man a month or so after birth, he may fall sick or die. If he does undergo the proper rite (see chap. viii), he will be healthy, a good worker, and a swift runner. The girl who does not consult the medicine man at her first menstruation may be consumed by fire and may bring misfortune to all her relatives (see chap. x). Even some of the Presbyterian Papago feel uneasy unless this ceremony is performed.

Dead persons are potential threats to health and good fortune, and care is taken to avoid offending them lest their ghosts return to bring sickness upon their living relations. Until about thirty years ago, the Papago buried their dead in little stone replicas of houses on a hill near each village. Personal property was buried with the corpse—a man's saddles and bridle, his tools and clothing, and any ceremonial paraphernalia he might have; the baskets a 753 761 764

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

789 Jesuits, the date of the pilgrimage was shifted to the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi, patron of the Franciscans, October 4.[10]

778 788 The change in the identity of the saint made no difference to the faithful. San Francisco Xavier is their saint, who watches over them and helps to bring rain to the desert. Pictures of the saint lying upon his tomb crowd the walls of their little churches and the altars in their homes. Underhill remarks the [761] sharp contrast between this "cult of a dead man" and the Papago fear of the dead. She believes it quite possible that the Papago do not realize that the picture represents a sarcophagus; for, when the Papago buy a waxen image of San Francisco, they dress it in a silk nightshirt and lay it in a doll bed. "When asked why the saint is in bed, they are vague. He is a white supernatural, and that is his way. They cannot tell why he performs his miracles lying down, but they know he performs them."[11]

788 484 The annual pilgrimage to honor San Francisco is the greatest event of the year for many a Papago family. For weeks ahead of time talk is of nothing else. A cattle roundup and sale are held in September to procure enough food, clothing, and supplies for the two-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey and the week spent in Magdalena. The family *santos* must be packed carefully, so that they, too, can be taken to receive the blessing of the saint. At last the family sets out by wagon, truck, or car, sleeping by the road at night.

788 439 In Magdalena they camp together with other Papago families in a large open field on the edge of town. Every day they go to market in one of the two central plazas, where there are row on row of little booths, with fruits and candies, bakery goods, bright-colored clothing, knickknacks, and sacred objects for sale. The adults buy clothing and household equipment for the coming year and gifts for everyone at home, while the children wander about the plaza, gazing at the booths, spending a few nickels a day for sweets or occasionally riding the merry-go-round.

788 733 Menfolk are likely to be found in the bars around the second plaza, since in Mexico they can get all the liquor they can pay for. Women worry because their men get drunk and lose all their money to the Mexicans or are jailed for creating a disturbance. A loud-speaker blares out the names of those who have been arrested, and their wives obtain their release by paying a fine.

788 At least once during the week the mother (and perhaps the father) takes the children into the church to touch the image of St. Francis. New *santos* and bright ribbons bought at the shops outside, and the *santos* from home, are

10. At the mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, also founded by Kino and later rebuilt by the Franciscans, the great celebration of the year is still on December 3, the day of the Jesuit saint.
11. Ruth Underhill, "Acculturation at the Papago Village of Santa Rosa" (MS), p. 31.

[Text continues on p. 88-Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

153 761 In the old days the two main fears of the Papago were apparently the dead and animals. Every dead person—not only the slain enemy, though he was considered particularly dangerous—might return, bringing suffering, sickness, and death. It is uncertain whether and how far this fear of the dead concealed feelings of guilt and hostility and how far it represented their channelization; but certain aspects of the Papago way of life seem to suggest that such feelings have played an essential part in this highly magical concept of fear.

153 578 761 In interpersonal relations unquestioned co-operation was necessary and required. Disturbances which might upset the household were dangerous to its total functioning and therefore extremely undesirable. Expressions of anger and acts of violence occasionally occurred, but they were considered unwise and bad. Only very grave offenses merited actual retribution rather than avoidance. There was little channelization of emotions into specific roles of action. Most of the occasional acts of violence occurred at festive gatherings with their license to pleasure and their complete release from tension, but these outlets were not officially sanctioned. Interpersonal relations with the tribal enemy, the "bad medicine man," and the dead were alone exceptions to this rule of smooth co-operation. However, emotions concerning the enemy and the bad medicine man were likewise concentrated upon the connection with the dead. The worst mortal danger came to the Papago not from the living but from the dead enemy; the bad medicine man's destructive power stemmed from his contacts with the dead. A dead person was not openly named, accused, or condemned; his potential malevolent capacities were implied in the terror of his return and might be mitigated through certain rites of purification and reconciliation.

158 Terror is the highest expression of repulsion, in which hate, anger, aggression, and destructive tendencies are combined and converted into an overpowering drive for avoidance. On the other hand, terror, as opposed to open aggression, is not in effect an object-directed release but self-directed tension. The Papago practice of concentrating negative feelings in terror and fear of the dead apparently had the following threefold effect: it minimized the interpersonal tensions occurring in daily life; it united the living in their common fear and avoidance of all the dead; and it enforced the defensive tension necessary for survival, at the same time shifting from the living to the dead the fears which limit strength and freedom of action.

The controlling efficiency of such a psychological mechanism would be based upon the exaggeration of one specific tension area, which probably induced a relative release of others, and upon its legitimacy, which would lend the security of general approval to negative feelings otherwise not sanctioned.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Its precariousness and limitation would lie in the fact that conflicts were not solved but only displaced and avoided.

The Papago believed that most commonly the dead approach the living in the form of animals, particularly of owls. Other animals, like the coyote, might be messengers from the land of the dead. But, beyond this, every single animal could become a bringer of death, sickness, and misfortune or, on the other hand, a helper and a sender of power and dreams (see chap. vi). Thus, the attitude toward animals seems to be an extension of the fear of the dead. The Papago fear of animals today seems to be connected with guilt feelings; very often it is the offended or maltreated animal to whose revenge misfortune is ascribed. The desirable attitude toward them—taught to the children from an early age—is avoidance.

TABLE 9

PREFERRED SOURCES OF FEAR DESCRIBED BY CHILDREN OF TWO PAPAGO AREAS AND BY WHITE CHILDREN (ROUNDED PERCENTAGES OF ALL RESPONSES)*

Source	Western Papago	Eastern Papago	All Papago	Whites
Animals	54	40	45	17
Clearly supernatural fear (ghosts, etc.)	12	10	10	1
Clearly objective fear (physical danger)	11	16	15	34
Subjective fear (night, noises, etc.)	7	15	9	14

* For sources of data see Table 4. For age limits of the various groups and relations of columns 1, 2, and 3 see Table 6.

Present-day Papago children are greatly afraid of animals, as their responses to the Emotional Response Test show (see Table 9). Frightening experiences with animals take by far the first place among all remembered fearful occasions. Since these children are in daily contact with all kinds of animals including domestic beasts like cattle, horses, and dogs, evaluation of the test results is quite difficult. At first glance, a Papago and a white child who mention having been chased by a dog appear to have had the same kind of fearful experience. Knowing, however, the Papago belief in the potential supernatural character of all animals, and remembering that as late as 1943 several Papago ascribed a long drought to a large-scale killing of sick horses, we cannot be sure without further exploration where the fear of animals implies fear of the supernatural and where it does not. The principal difference between the two qualities of fear lies in the meaningful and intentional reference to himself which the frightening experience has for the individual afraid of the supernatural and in the practically limitless consequences to which he fears it may expose him.